Rescuing the Other: A Survey of Student Attitudes towards Refugees

David Ostman

1.0   Introduction

With an unprecedented 65.3 million displaced persons and 21.3 million refugees in 2015 (UNHRC, 2016), governments of many countries have been faced with pressure to accept increasing numbers of refugees. Although it received as few as 32 applications in 1990 (Japan Association for Refugees, 2014), the Government of Japan received 7,586 applications for refugee status in 2015 (Ministry of Justice, 2016), the largest number to date. Concurrent with the rising numbers of refugee applications are external criticisms of the Government of Japan for failing to boost acceptance rates in line with other developed countries. A BBC report revealed that the Ministry of Justice acceptance rate for refugee applications was just .02% in 2015, compared with rates of over 30% in the United Kingdom, and around 40% in Canada and Germany (2016). Al Jazeera similarly pointed out that over 99% of asylum applications were rejected in 2015 (2016). One response of the Government was to pledge $2.8 billion in refugee aid over three years beginning in 2016 (The Japan Times, 2016); however such action does nothing to address the fact that asylum applications have been increasing year on year (Association for Refugees, 2016), and may be expected to grow further in 2017 and beyond.

To date, there have been no attempts by the Government of Japan to measure public sentiment on this difficult issue. This stands in contrast with the wealth of data gathered by governments and institutions in other developed countries, such as The European Social Survey (ESS), which has carried out multiple surveys across Europe in order to gauge public attitudes towards accepting immigrants (2002, 2014). Similarly, the Pew Research Center released the results of a 2016 10-country survey that indicated broad European anxiety over potential increases in terrorism and loss of employment (Wiki, Stokes, & Simmons, 2016). In America, the Brookings Institute conducted a 2016 poll to discern American attitudes towards their government's policy of accepting refugees from conflict zones in the Middle East even after undergoing a thorough screening (Telhami, 2016). Clearly, there is a need for similar input from the citizens of Japan.

This research addresses the paucity of data concerning attitudes towards refugees and refugee policy through survey instruments that directly query refugee understanding, refugee word association, perception of refugee merit and demerit, and the belief that Japan "should" or

"needs" to increase the number of refugees allowed into the country in the future. By utilizing concordance software to analyze written response, it attempts to identify keywords and trends in student perception and attitude towards refugees, as well as the prospect of increasing future refugee access to Japan.

2.0   Literature Review

2.1   Survey-based Refugee Studies

The 21st Century has seen an explosion of surveys and opinion polls as researchers and policy makers scramble to measure public sentiment towards refugees amidst ever-increasing political furor over the issues of who should be accepted, and how best to effect assimilation. The European Social Survey has, among a wide range of topics, conducted 2002 and 2014 Europe-wide surveys containing a refugee component, whose results have been incorporated into numerous studies. Ben-Nun Bloom, Arikan, & Lahav (2015) demonstrated the existence of perceived migrant-related cultural and material threats, which differed based on migrant ethnicity. Jaime-Castillo, Marqués-Perales, & Álvarez-Gálvez (2016) found correlations between attitudes towards migrants and the size of the welfare state, concluding that in countries with high social expenditures, attitudes of concern amongst the lower classes were amplified. Matching ESS data with regional UK labor force surveys revealed that anti-migrant attitudes were more prevalent in areas with higher migrant unemployment (Markaki, 2014). Conversely, some research has focused solely on the accuracy and applicability of ESS instruments and methodology (Davidov, Cieciuch, Schmidt, Meuleman, Algesheimer, & Hausherr, 2015).

Refugee-specific survey data has also been employed to analyze the circumstances of refugees in their new environments, such as a 2007 study of refugees to Canada which in addition to outlining the integration services at refugee disposal, identified economic and socio-cultural integration patterns (Yu, Ouellet, & Warmington, 2007). Survey data has also been used to assess the status of refugee health following relocation to the United States (Vergara, Miller, Martin, & Cookson, 2003), as well as to assess the quality of life for specific nationalities, such as a 2008 study surveying partner violence and psychological distress in female refugees from Somalia (Nilsson, Brown, Russell, & Khamphakdy-Brown, 2008). With increasing numbers of displaced persons worldwide, it is probable that the importance and applicability of survey-data-based research will grow as both politicians and citizens are forced to consider the acceptance and management of refugees.

2.2   Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies (CADS)

Pioneered by Stubbs (1996, 2001), who stressed the importance of corpus-assisted analysis of texts for both practical and theoretical reasons, and furthered by the research of Partington (Partington, Morley, & Haarman, 2004), CADS attempts to combine a qualitative approach of

analyzing large amounts of the target discourse statistically, with significantly older qualitative methods of discourse analysis which, beginning with Foucault (1972, 1984), has been continued by researchers such as Fairclough (2001, 2003) to uncover and analyze "non-obvious meaning" (Stubbs, 1996). A large portion of CADS research has been devoted to the study of political and media discourse (Teubert, 2000; Fairclough, 2001; Partington, 2003) in order to uncover motif and metaphor. Collocational research in Japan has been led by Hori (2004, 2011), and aided by the development of analytical software (AntConc) by Lawrence Anthony.

3.0   Methodology

The methodology is reported in terms of the instrument under study, the survey participants, the data-collection and analytical procedures.

3.1   Instrument

The survey consisted of 33 questions divided into three sections. All questions were composed in English, before being translated into Japanese in cooperation with a native-Japanese speaker. All questions in the survey appeared in both English and Japanese. In cases where the subject was given multiple choices, the choices appeared only in Japanese. Questions 1-8 sought to 1) ascertain the degree to which the subject was exposed to news sources, 2) what new sources were most commonly used, 3) the subjects' self-assessment of knowledge of current affairs, and 4) subject familiarity with the words "immigrant," "immigration," and "refugee." Respondents were given five options for each question, with the exception of questions 1 (yes/no) and 4 (10-point scale).

Questions 9-22 consisted of a variety of questions formulated to assess student knowledge and perception concerning immigrants. Subjects were 1) asked to provide word associations for "immigrant," as well as 2) a definition for the term. Questions 11-14 attempted to measure 3) subject familiarity with the topic of immigrants and immigration, while questions 15 - 22 queried 4) subject attitudes with regard to the potential positive and negative aspects of immigrants for Japan, as well as 5) potential benefits and challenges experienced by the immigrants themselves.

Questions 23-33 were designed to assess student knowledge and perception concerning refugees. Subjects were asked to 1) provide word associations for "refugee," as well as 2) a definition of the term, 3) what countries they thought refugees to Japan were coming from, and if they had personally encountered a refugee to Japan. Questions 28-33 attempted to 4) assess attitudes regarding the merits/demerits to Japan of accepting refugees, and 5) the potential benefits and challenges experienced by the immigrants themselves (all survey questions are listed in Appendix A). Due to the length of the survey, this paper will only analyze questions related to student familiarity with the news and self-assessment of current-even knowledge (1-

6), and questions concerning refugees (23-33), and will not analyze responses related to questions querying the topic of immigration (7-22).

3.2   Participants and Treatment of the Data

The survey was completed anonymously by 161 students at a Japanese prefectural university (The Prefectural University of Kumamoto) between July 27, 2016 and August 8, 2016. The students were first asked to answer all questions in paper form, before entering the identical data online. Data was completed and collected under teacher supervision. To collect online data, an online service was used (creativesurvey.com), and accessed at on-campus computer labs using Goggle Chrome (Versions, 45, 49, 51, 52), Mozilla Firefox (versions 30, 31, 35), Microsoft Explorer (version 11), and Microsoft Edge (version 13). All students used the same operating system (Microsoft ver. Windows 7, 10). Five students completed both the paper survey and online input without supervision, however only three submitted the paper survey at a later date. Two students were unable to log in to the university system and only completed the paper survey under supervision. Both agreed to allow a third party to input the survey data at a later date (Sept. 13, 2016).

Students were given the option not to complete the survey, and were told that by providing personal information (age, major, year of study, gender, date of survey) they were agreeing to make their answers available for academic research. One student did not provide consent and was exempted from this study. Student demographics are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Student Demographics

Age	18	19	20	21	22
	36 (22.4%)	82 (50.9%)	34 (21.1%)	5 (3.1%)	4 (2.5%)

Of the 161 respondents, 36 (22.4%) were male, and 125 (77.6%) were female. Respondents were asked to list the department to which they belonged. The results are shown in Table 2:

Table 2: Students by Department

Department	#
Department of English Language & Literature	45 (28%)
Department of Food & Health Sciences	41 (26%)
Department of Environmental Resources	32 (20%)
Department of Japanese Language & Literature	24 (15%)
Department of Human Habitat	19 (12%)
Total	161

Students were told that the survey was intended to measure their understanding and attitude regarding the words, "immigrant," "immigration," and "refugee," and were instructed to provide honest answers, as opposed to answers they might believe to be regarded as "correct." Students were instructed to complete all answers in Japanese; however, seven students (all from the Department of English Language and Literature) partially answered the survey in English. In these cases, the answers were translated into Japanese with the assistance of a native Japanese speaker.

Informed consent was obtained for participation, and respondent identity was protected. Survey data was analyzed using Microsoft Excel 2010 and Microsoft Access 2010, as well as concordance software (AntConc ver. 3.4.4.0).

4.0 Results

Students were asked to respond to questions designed to measure different aspects of their knowledge, perception, and attitudes towards the news in general, Japanese current events, and the topic of refugees. Sections and topics of inquiry are listed below (Table 3).

Table 3: List of Survey Topics

4.1	Where do students get news?
4.2	How often do students access news sources?
4.3	What Internet news sites do students access?
4.4	Are students aware/interested in current events?
4.5	What words do students associate with "refugees"?
4.6	Student definitions of the word "refugee".
4.7	Did the news influence student understanding of refugees?
4.8	How many refugees are coming into the country?
4.9	Where do refugees to Japan come from?
4.10	What refugees have students met in Japan?
4.11	What are the merits of accepting refugees to the country?
4.12	What are the demerits of accepting refugees to the country?
4.13	How do refugees benefit by coming to Japan?
4.14	What challenges to refugees face in coming to Japan?
4.15	Does Japan need to increase the number of refugees it accepts?

Each topic is presented in detail in the corresponding sections below.

4.1   Student News Sources

Of 161 students, 155 replied that they had received their entire education in Japan. When asked for their primary source of news, students answered as follows:

Table 4: Respondent Primary News Source

Television	Internet	Radio	Other
108	51	1	1

The majority of students (67%) responded that television, not the Internet (32%), was their primary source of news.

4.2   Student Exposure to the News

When asked how often they accessed the news through their primary source, just under half (48%) responded doing so on a daily basis, with 23% (36) saying they accessed the news 4 to 6 times a week, and 25% (41) 2 to 3 times a week (two students chose to leave this answer blank).

Table 5: Frequency of Access from Primary Source

Every Day	4 - 6 Times/wk.	2 - 3 Times/wk.	> 1 Time/wk.	Never
77	36	41	5	0

All students answered that they had some exposure to the news, with 71% answering that they accessed the news 4 or more times a week.

4.3   Internet News Sources

Question 3 asked respondents where they accessed news on the Internet. The majority (76%) listed Yahoo News and Line News as their Internet news source; however, 80 students (50%) left this answer blank. In a small number of cases (15), respondents gave more than one answer.

Table 6: Internet News Sources

Yahoo News	Line News	NHK	Twitter	Other
38	35	9	7	7

Of the 81 students who gave responses, 73 (90%) answered that they accessed news through Yahoo News and Line News.

4.4   Interest/Awareness of Current Events

Respondents were asked to self-assess their knowledge of current events in Japan on a scale of one to ten (one being the lowest).

Figure 1: Student Self-assessment of Current-event Knowledge
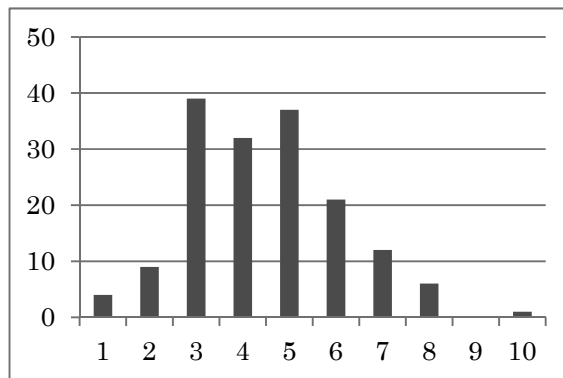
The majority of students (67%) rated their knowledge between 3 to 5, while only 25% believed their understanding of current events to be 6 or above. When queried on their interest in Japanese domestic news, 73% (116) agreed or strongly agreed that they were interested in domestic news, compared with 10% (16) who disagreed. No student strongly disagreed. Question 6 asked students to rate their agreement with the statement: "I think it is important to discuss domestic news with my friends": 71% (114) agreed or strongly agreed, compared to 10% (16) who disagreed. No student strongly disagreed.

4.5   Identifying "Refugee" by Word-association

Question 23 asked students to perform word associations for the word "refugee," and were given two examples: chili pepper = red, spicy / Lexus = expensive, stylish. Answers were analyzed by searching for individual Japanese characters. Results are shown in Table 7 below:

Table 7: Word Associations for the Term "Refugee"

Frequency	Term
42	Poor/Poverty
40	War/Conflict/Civil War
15	Syria/Islamic State/Pakistan/Middle East/Palestine
6	Terror
5	Pity
4	Africa
4	Adversity/difficult
4	Escape/runaway

Concordance software was used to identify words with a frequency of two or greater. Respondents most frequently associated refugees with the state of impoverishment, war, various Islamic countries/movements, and terrorism. The association of immigrants with a state of poverty (combining "poor" and "poverty") indicates a synonymous understanding of refugees as people who are economically disadvantaged, possibly as a result of war. That various Islamic countries and terror were the third and fourth most frequent responses indicates an understanding that the wars responsible for displacing individuals are taking place primarily within the Islamic world. See Appendix B for full results.

4.6   Defining "Refugee"

Students were additionally asked to provide a definition in Japanese for the word "refugee;" out of 161 students, 158 provided a definition in sentence form (with two having to be translated from English into Japanese for analysis). Answers were compared with the "simple definition" in Webster's Dictionary for "refugee": someone who has been forced to leave a country because of war or for religious or political reasons (refugee, 2016). Definitions were accepted if they: 1) demonstrated an understanding of human movement as being involuntary, and 2) an understanding that the movement was undertaken for reasons related to war, religion, or politics.

An example of an accepted definition, as given by a student, is:

People who are unable to live in their country because of war, and have to run away.

This definition satisfies both conditions by indicating that the movement is involuntary, and caused by warfare. Next, an example of an unaccepted definition is given:

People who leave their country and come to another country.

This definition fails to note either that the movement is coerced, or that war or religious/political persecution was the reason for the involuntary movement.

Some students successfully indicated that movement was coerced, but failed to include any reasons related to war, religion, or politics. Consider the example below:

People who have lost their homes and flee to another country.

In this case, the respondent indicates an understanding that the movement is involuntary, yet fails to provide a reason for the loss of residence. Definitions that indicated involuntary movement but failed to note causation were not accepted as correct, but were tallied as partially-correct.

Some definitions were close to being classified as partially-correct, as in the case of the following answer:

People who illegally run away (flee) to another country.

This definition indicates that the movement is an act of desperation, but fails to indicate that there is any coercion underscoring the decision to run away. Therefore, it was not classified as partially-correct.

Correct answers often provided additional information, the accuracy of which was not considered as long as both criteria were satisfied:

People who are forced to take up residence in another country because of society or economic reasons, or reasons related to war.

By satisfying all criteria, this definition was classified as correct, even though the dictionary definition does not allow for "economic refugees." Using the above criteria, 57 students (36%) gave acceptable definitions, while 33 students (21%) gave partially-correct definitions that indicated coercion, but did not contain a reason related to religion, politics, or warfare. A total of 68 students (43%) did not provide a correct or partially-correct definition.

Some answers indicated a general confusion between economic circumstances and refugee status, such as the following:

People who are without employment and impoverished.

Poor people who move to another country.

While it is often true that refugees suffer from poverty and lack employment, these characteristics may not be employed as definitional criteria.

4.7   Definitional Correctness and News Access

Interestingly, there was little difference in the rates of news access between students who gave accurate and inaccurate definitions, with students who provided partially-correct definitions answering that they watched the news the most. This suggests that student news choices were not a significant factor in developing a basic understanding of the nature of refugees (Table 8).

Table 8: Definition of Correctness Compared with Frequency of News Access

	Daily	4-6x/wk.	2-3x/wk.	> Once/wk.
Correct (57)	28 (49%)	14 (25%)	14 (25%)	1 (2%)
Partially-Correct (33)	18 (55%)	5 (15%)	9 (27%)	1 (3%)
Incorrect (68)	30 (44%)	18 (26%)	17 (25%)	2 (4%)

While 49% of students who gave correct definitions claimed to watch the news daily, a slightly larger number (55%) who gave partially-correct answers claimed to do the same. Additionally, students who gave incorrect definitions reported watching the news daily at only a slightly lesser rate (44%), indicating that student ability to define "refugee" was not dependent on viewing frequency or the news sources they accessed.

4.8   Estimated Acceptance of Refugees

Question 25 asked students how many refugees were coming into Japan on a yearly basis.

Table 9: Student Estimation of Yearly Acceptance of Refugees

0	b/t 1〜99	b/t 100〜999	b/t 1,000〜9,999	< 10,000
3 (2%)	56 (35%)	48 (30%)	29 (18%)	24 (15%)

The mean answer was 400, with the average significantly higher at 63,141. However, one response (10,000,000) distorted this number. Taken together, 35% of respondents believed the number of yearly refugees to be under 100, and the majority (67%) believing this number to be under 1,000.

4.9   Perceived Origin of Refugees to Japan

When asked from what countries they believed refugees to Japan were coming, respondents consistently answered that North Korea, China, and Syria were the top countries, followed by Africa and Iraq. When asked what country provided the second-most refugees, China was first, followed by South Korea, and Iraq. Although results for the third choice were more varied, North Korea, China, and Iraq were still the most frequent choices.

Table 10: Origin of Refugees to Japan

First Choice	#	Second Choice	#	Third Choice	#
North Korea	33	China	19	China	18
Syria	19	South Korea	14	North Korea	10
China	14	Iraq	9	Iraq	9
Africa	9	North Korea	7	Turkey	7
Iraq	9	Syria	7	South Korea	6

Interestingly, according to the most recently available Government of Japan data (Ministry of Justice, 2016), of the 27 refugees accepted in 2015, Japan accepted refugees from Afghanistan (6), Ethiopia (3), Sri Lanka (3), Syria (3), Eritrea (2), and Nepal (2). The origin of the remaining 8 accepted refugees was not disclosed.
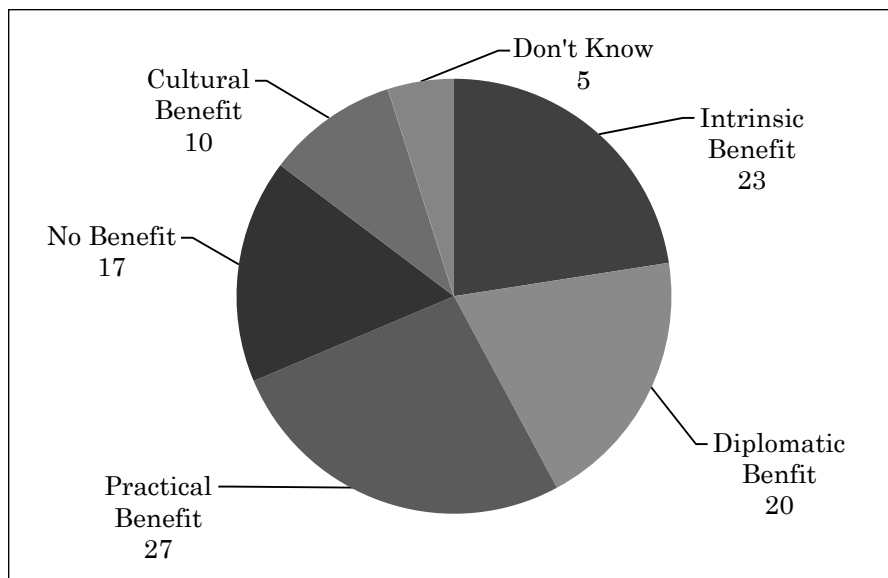
4.10 Refugees Encountered

Out of 161 respondents, only one answered that they had met a refugee to Japan. In the case of this respondent, the individual they encountered was from Rwanda.

4.11 Merits of Accepting Refugees to Japan

When asked what the merits of allowing refugees into Japan would be, answers varied.

Figure 2: Perceived Benefits of Refugees

The greatest perceived benefit to Japan was practical (labor and demographic benefits), with the intrinsic benefits of helping/saving people in distress the second most frequent response. The third-most frequent set of responses indicated that the goodwill generated internationally would be a benefit for the country, and the fourth most frequent response was the belief that refugees presented no benefit to Japan.

4.12 Demerits of Accepting Refugees to Japan

When asked what the demerits of allowing refugees into Japan would be, the most frequent words were "money" and words related to employment (work/job/employment), indicating that the greatest perceived demerit to the country would be the expense of accepting refugees, along

with related difficulties of securing them work. A total of 35 words related to these two ideas.

The second greatest concern was the belief that accepting refugees would result in a loss of civic order and safety. These words, combined with the words "danger/dangerous," "terror," and "crime" were used a total of 34 times.

The third most frequent response comprised words related to the idea that Japan would experience a loss of culture from accepting refugees. The words "culture," "values," "thinking," and "religion" were used a total of 21 times, and the word "culture" was combined with "differences," "change," "conflict," and in one case "dirtied/muddied" (bunka ga yogosareru).

4.13   Benefits for Refugees Coming to Japan

Students saw the benefit to refugees of residing in Japan overwhelmingly in terms of safety, improvements in civic order, and absence of war.

Table 11: Perceived Benefits to Refugees

Frequency	Term
44	Safety
39	Lifestyle
23	Civic order
16	Relief/Peace of mind
12	Peace
8	War
6	Employment
6	Job
2	House
2	Wages
2	Work

Benefits related to improved safety (safety/civic order/relief/peace/war) accounted for 103 responses, while words expressing a belief that refugees would experience improved living conditions (lifestyle/employment/job/house/wages/work) were used 57 times. Interestingly, students did not indicate that refugees would experience any cultural benefit from residing in Japan.

4.14   Challenges Faced by Refugees Coming to Japan

When asked what they thought the greatest potential challenges faced by refugees to Japan would be, respondents answered that communicative difficulties (language/Japanese/ communication) would be the primary obstacle (74 responses). The word "culture" was used

24 times, indicating that respondents believed that adapting to the culture would be a major challenge for refugees. The third most frequent response (23 responses) related to employment (employment/job/working/work), indicating a respondent expectation that refugees would experience difficulties in this area. The words "acceptance," "discrimination," and "prejudice" appeared 21 times, indicating that in addition to practical challenges, respondents expected that refugees would experience anti-refugee sentiment from Japanese citizens.

4.15   Perceived Advisability/Need of Increased Acceptance of Refugees

The final two questions on the refugee portion of the survey asked students to agree or disagree with the statements, "Japan should accept more refugees," and "Japan has an obligation to accept more refugees." Only one student out of 161 failed to give a response.

Table 11: Japan Should Accept more Refugees

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
4 (3%)	41 (26%)	62 (39%)	41 (26%)	12 (8%)

Table 12: Japan has an Obligation to Accept more Refugees

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
10 (6%)	47 (29%)	40 25(%)	48 (30%)	16 (10%)

Students were evenly divided as to whether Japan should accept more refugees, with 29% agreeing or strongly agreeing, and a slightly greater number (34%) disagreeing or strongly disagreeing. Concerning the question of Japan's obligation to increasingly accept refugees, respondents in agreement increased to 35%, while those in disagreement expanded to 40%. When asked to explain their reasons for the above questions, those in agreement most frequently answered that Japan was a "developed country" (29 responses), and that it had the ability to "help" (28) refugees. The word "world" was used 9 times indicating respondent belief that Japan was a member of a global society. Respondents who disagreed gave less consistent answers, citing "terror" (9) as a concern, along with the financial cost (9). The most frequent objection, however, was that Japan did not have any obligation to accept refugees, with the word "obligation" appearing 30 times. Interestingly, four students responded that Japan did not have the capacity (yoyu ga nai) to accept increasing numbers of refugees. Although in a previous question students connected refugees with Japan's demographic difficulties, no student cited these benefits as a reason for increasing the acceptance of refugees.

5.0   Discussion

While evaluating refugee-related knowledge of Japanese university students was not the principle objective of this research, respondents demonstrated a limited understanding of who refugees were, with only 36% of students able to provide an acceptable definition. Concerning the origin of refugees to Japan, students were less knowledgeable, with the majority believing that refugees to Japan come from China and the Koreas, a perception that is easier understood when considering that only one student had met a refugee. Roughly a third of students (37%) believed that the country accepts less than 100 refugees a year, with the majority (63%) answering that the acceptance of refugees was higher. The news habits of respondents did not correlate with a greater understanding of the subject, although coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis might be credited with the mistaken belief that Syrian refugees comprised a significant percentage of refugees to Japan. Below are refugee statistics from the past 10 years obtained from the Japan Association for Refugees (2014; 2016).

Table 13: Acceptance of Refugees to Japan

Year	Accepted	Applied	% Accepted
2006	34	954	3.6
2007	41	816	5.0
2008	57	1,599	3.6
2009	30	1,388	2.2
2010	39	1,202	3.2
2011	21	1,867	1.1
2012	18	2,545	0.7
2013	6	3,260	0.2
2014	11	5,000	0.2
2015	27	7,586	0.4
Avg.	**28.4**	**2621**	**2.0**

Over the past five years, the government acceptance rate of refugees as a percentage of applicants has dropped below the ten-year average of 2%, just as the number of applicants has increased year on year, a trend that contrasts sharply with the treatment of refugees by other developed countries. When queried as to the potential benefits of accepting refugees, 27 responses indicated a practical benefit in terms of demographic support and labor. However, greater in number were responses that indicated that benefits were intrinsic (23), cultural (10), "Don't Know" (5), and diplomatic (20), the last of which may indicate student understanding or expectation that the country's current handling of refugees is receiving international criticism. With the possible exception of diplomatic benefits, these responses reveal that the majority of

students do not see the acceptance of refugees as being connected to the solution of the practical problems faced by the country.

Students saw the expense and loss of civic order as being the greatest demerits of refugees, and while the cultural benefits of allowing refugees to enter Japan was referenced 10 times, the belief that refugees would create cultural problems was referenced 21 times, indicating a net-negative view of refugees in terms of their cultural impact. The perceived benefits to refugees coming to Japan were clearly in terms of improved safety and lifestyle, however there were no responses indicating that refugees would benefit from being exposed to Japanese culture. Conversely, respondents overwhelmingly identified language as being the greatest challenge faced by refugees, with cultural challenges, employment difficulties, and lack of acceptance receiving roughly equal responses. Taken together, the challenges of acculturation (culture/ acceptance) indicate a general respondent belief that not only would refugees struggle to understand Japanese culture, they would also face rejection and possible ostracism from Japanese.

Lastly, when asked to consider the advisability of allowing more refugees into the country, the most popular response (39%) was to neither agree nor disagree. However, when the word "should" was replaced with "has an obligation to" in the final question, more students agreed (35%) and disagreed (40%), indicating that while students are largely ambivalent or negative towards the prospect of increased acceptance of refugees, a larger number agreed that the obligation to accept refugees exists. As only one student referenced the international treaties to which Japan is a signatory, such as the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, the case cannot be made that the belief in this obligation stems from an understanding of international agreements. Rather, frequent student uses of the words "help," "save," and "humane" strongly suggests that this obligation stems from a student belief that accepting refugees is the "right thing to do." Oppositely, the increased number of students who disagree that Japan has any obligation (40%), indicates a large degree of resistance towards the idea that as a developed country Japan should share the burden of accepting refugees.

Further research might attempt to evaluate information disseminated by the government concerning refugee policy, as well as the treatment of refugees in the public discourse. As this survey was comprised of a limited number of respondents from a specific demographic, the results cannot be said to be representative of the attitudes and ideas of the Japanese populace. Broadening both the sample size and the demographic would improve the results. Additionally, because students received news primarily from television, a new survey targeting viewing habits could facilitate a more detailed understanding.

6.0   Conclusion

With increasing numbers of refugees and displaced persons around the globe, governments of developed countries have attempted to use survey data to better understand citizen attitudes towards refugees and other migrants, in addition to projecting demographic, economic, and cultural changes. The latest round of the European Social Survey (2014), included a refugee component to measure citizen-perception of immigrants into their country, while the Government of Australia annually conducts the Continuous Survey of Australia's Migrants (Australian Government, 2014) to track migrant employment outcomes, as well as demographic and migration characteristics. By contrast, the Government of Japan has little available data to evaluate citizen attitudes towards different groups of migrants.

Querying students on the subject of refugees resulted in several findings. First, it became apparent that students were often unclear as to how to define a refugee, a fact that possibly contributed towards a general lack of empathy expressed in responses to the questions that followed. Simply stated, student definitional inability to imagine the situations under which refugees were forced to flee their homes (political/religious oppression; displacement due to war) possibly contributed to the overall ambivalence and negativity towards accepting increasing numbers of refugees into the country. Furthermore, the fact that only one student responded that they had met a refugee, combined with the fact that most students did not know where refugees to Japan were coming from (Nepal, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Afghanistan), instead believing them to come from countries with which Japan experienced historical and diplomatic tensions (China, North Korea, South Korea), possibly contributed to overall negativity towards refugees and the prospect of accepting them into Japan. Finally, although the bulk of recent refugees to Japan have not come from Syria, the belief that this is the case, combined with a fear of falling victim to terrorist attacks associated with the Syrian conflict, possibly contributed to negative perceptions of refugees.

A second finding involved the considerable number of students who rejected the notion that Japan was under any obligation to accept refugees into the country. While respondents in favor of increasing the number of refugees indicated Japan's status as a developed country, and referenced its membership in a global fraternity, many students did not perceive Japan's status on the world stage as connected with any responsibilities to accept refugees. In short, the worldwide phenomenon of increasing numbers of displaced persons was not a "Japanese" problem. As the concept of obligation was not connected to an understanding of Japan's signatory status on various international agreements, it is unclear if such knowledge would have altered responses.

A final finding involved the inability of the majority of respondents to link refugees with any practical benefit to Japanese society, which likely influenced responses to the concept that Japan "should" accept more refugees in the future. Combined with the belief that refugees would face significant challenges, not only from the language and in navigating the culture,

respondents indicated that refugees would face challenges in achieving acceptance from Japanese. It is possible that a more nuanced understanding of the potential for refugees to play a positive role in addressing current national problems (labor shortages, a declining population, a low birth rate) could have acted to mitigate respondent negativity.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix

Appendix A : Survey Questions

１．Has all you education up until this survey been in Japan?
　　学校教育は全て日本で受けられましたか？

２．What is your primary source of news?
　　主要なニュース源は何ですか？下から選んでください。
　　新聞　　　テレビ　　　ラジオ　　　インタネット　　　　　他
　　From this source how often do you get news?
　　上の選択からどのぐらいの頻度でニュースを視聴しますか？
　　毎日　　　週に３-５回　　　週に１-３回　　　週に一回以下

３．What Internet news sites do you use?
　　どのニュースサイトを使いますか？

４．On a scale of 1-10 (one being lowest), rank your knowledge of current affairs in Japan?
　　あなたは日本の時事について、どのぐらい知識がありますか？１から１０点であらわすと何点ですか？（１が最低）

５．I am interested in domestic news.
　　私は日本の国内ニュースに興味がある。

６．I think it is important to discuss domestic news with my friends.
　　私は友達と国内ニュースについて話すことが大切と思う。

７．I have heard the words "immigrant," "immigration" and "refugee" in the news recently.
　　最近のニュースで移民・移民政策・難民という言葉を聞いたことがある。

8．I have often discussed the topic of immigrants/immigration in Japan.
私は移民・移民政策についてよく話します。

9．What words do you associate with the word "immigrant"? (eg. chili pepper = red, spicy, or Lexus = expensive, stylish)
移民と聞いて、何を連想しますか？（例：唐辛子＝赤い・辛い、Lexus＝値段が高い・おしゃれ）

10．What is your definition of an immigrant? Write your definition in the space provided.
あなたは移民をどのように定義しますか？回答欄に定義を書いてください。

11．How many immigrants do you think come to Japan each year?
あなたは毎年何人の移民が来日すると想像しますか？（数字で）

12．How many Japanese emigrate to other countries each year?
あなたは毎年何人の日本人が他国に移民すると想像しますか？（数字で）

13．Where do you think immigrants to Japan come from? List the top three countries in the space provided.
あなたは来日する移民はどこの国から来ると想像しますか？（回答欄に１－３位まで書いてください）

14．Have you ever met an immigrant to Japan?
あなたは日本に定住した外国人（移民）に会ったことがありますか？

If yes, where did this person(s) come from?
会ったと答えた場合、その移民はどこの国から来ましたか？

15．What countries/cultures are most compatible with Japan/Japanese culture (people from which countries/cultures would make the best immigrants for Japan)?どこの国や文化が日本や日本の文化と相性がよいと思いますか？（どこの国の出身者が移民として望ましい？）
Explain the reason(s) for your answer.
その理由を説明してください。

16．What countries/cultures are the least compatible with Japan (people from which countries/cultures) would make the worst immigrants for Japan)?
どこの国や文化が日本や日本の文化と相性が悪いと思いますか？（どこの国の出身者が移民として望ましくない？）
Explain the reason(s) for your answer.
その理由を説明してください。

17．In your opinion, what (if any) are the merits of allowing immigrants to come to Japan (What are the positive aspects of immigration)?
あなたの意見では、日本に移民を受け入れる利点は何ですか？（移民政策の肯定的側面は何？）

18．In your opinion, what (if any) are the demerits of allowing immigrants to come to Japan (What are the negative aspects of immigration)?
あなたの意見では、日本に移民を受け入れるデメリットは何ですか？（移民政策の否定的側面は何？）

19．In your opinion, what (if any) are the greatest benefits for immigrants who move to Japan?

あなたの意見では日本に移民する人々にとって最大のメリットは何だと思いますか。

20. In your opinion, what (if any) are the greatest challenges faced by immigrants who move to Japan?

あなたの意見では日本に移民する人々にとって最大の困難は何だと思いますか。

21. Japan should increase the number immigrants.

日本が移民を増加するべきである。

Explain the reason(s) for your answer.

その理由を説明してください。

22. Japan needs to accept more immigrants in the future.

将来、日本が移民を増加する必要があります。

Explain the reason(s) for your answer.

その理由を説明してください。

23. What words do you associate with the word "refugee"? (eg. chili pepper = red, spicy, or Lexus = expensive, stylish)

難民と聞いて、何を連想しますか？（例：唐辛子＝赤い・辛い、Lexus＝値段が高い・おしゃれ）

24. What is your definition of a refugee? Write your definition in the space provided.

あなたは難民をどのように定義しますか？回答欄に定義を書いてください。

25. On average, how many refugees do you think Japan accepts each year?

あなたは毎年平均で何人の移民が来日すると想像しますか？（数字で）

26. Where do refugees to Japan come from? List the top three countries in the space provided.

あなたは来日する難民はどこの国から来ると想像しますか？（回答欄に１－３位まで書いてください）

27. Have you ever met a refugee to Japan?

あなたは日本に来た難民に会ったことがありますか？

If yes, where did this person(s) come from?

会ったと答えた場合、その難民はどこの国から来ましたか？

28. In your opinion, what (if any) are the merits of allowing refugees to come to Japan?

あなたの意見では、日本に難民を受け入れる利点は何ですか？

29. In your opinion, what (if any) are the demerits of allowing refugees to come to Japan?

あなたの意見では、日本に難民を受け入れるデメリットは何ですか？

30. In your opinion, what (if any) are the greatest benefits for refugees who move to Japan?

あなたの意見では難民として日本に来る人々にとって最大のメリットは何だと思いますか。

31. In your opinion, what (if any) are the greatest challenges faced by refugees who move to Japan?

あなたの意見では難民として日本に来る人々にとって最大の困難は何だと思いますか。

32. The Japanese government should accept more refugees.

日本政府はもっと難民を受け入れるべきです。

Explain the reason(s) for your answer.

その理由を説明してください。

33. Japan has an obligation to accept more refugees.

日本はもっと難民を受け入れる義務があります。

Explain the reason(s) for your answer.

その理由を説明してください。

Appendix B: Question 23 (What words do you associate with the word "refugee"?)

Frequency	Term
42	Poor/Poverty
40	War/Conflict/Civil War
15	Syria/Islamic State/Pakistan/Middle East/Palestine
6	Terror
5	Pity
4	Africa
4	Adversity/difficult
4	Escape/runaway
3	Europe
3	North Korea
3	Developing Country
3	Starvation
2	No place to live
2	Danger
2	Awful
2	Discrimination
2	Unemployed
2	Refugee
2	Refugee camp

Appendix C: Question 26 (Where do refugees to Japan come from?)

First Choice	#	Second Choice	#	Third Choice	#
North Korea	33	China	19	China	18
Syria	19	South Korea	14	North Korea	10
China	14	Iraq	9	Iraq	9
Africa	9	North Korea	7	Turkey	7
Iraq	9	Syria	7	South Korea	6
The Philippines	8	Iran	5	South Africa	6
Nigeria	7	The Philippines	4	Afghanistan	5
Cambodia	5	India	4	Malaysia	4
Indonesia	5	Cambodia	4	India	4

Turkey	4	Kenya	4	Cambodia	4
Afghanistan	3	Myanmar	3	The Philippines	4
Israel	3	Kazakhstan	3	Brazil	4
Brazil	3	Sudan	3	Vietnam	4
South Africa	3	Thailand	3	Thailand	4
India	2	Turkey	3	Pakistan	3
Greece	2	Pakistan	3	Palestine	3
Saudi Arabia	2	Africa	3	Egypt	3
South Korea	2	Russia	2	Russia	3
The Koreas (North & South)	2	The Koreas (North & South)	2	America	2
Arab Countries	1	Palestine	2	Taiwan	2
Ukraine	1	Vietnam	2	Iran	2
Egypt	1	America	2	Ethiopia	2
Ghana	1	Israel	2	Ghana	2
Kenya	1	Islam	2	Asia	1
Singapore	1	Indonesia	2	Africa	1
Germany	1	Greece	2	The United Kingdom	1
Papua New Guinea	1	Tanzania	2	Israel	1
Vietnam	1	Algeria	1	Indonesia	1
Mali	1	Egypt	1	Ukraine	1
Russia	1	Ethiopia	1	Cuba	1
I don't know	1	Ghana	1	Kuwait	1
I can't imagine	1	Countries surrounding Saudi Arabia	1	Kenya	1
The Middle East	1	Siberia	1	Syria	1
East Asia	1	Chile	1	Sudan	1
		Germany	1	Nigeria	1
		Nigeria	1	Hungary	1
		Peru	1	Bangladesh	1
		Mongolia	1	Poland	1
		Libya	1	Bolivia	1
		Middle East	1	Mexico	1
		East Asia	1	Libya	1
		South Africa	1	Central Asia	1
		South America	1		
		South Sudan	1		
		Afghanistan	1		

他者を救う: 難民に対する学生の意識調査

オストマン・ディビッド

Abstract 趣旨

2015年、世界の難民の数が統計上2,100万人にのぼると国連人権委員会は報告した。2011年以降日本への難民申請者数が急激に上がっていることに対し、日本政府は認定率を下げた。2014年の場合、認定者数は申請者に対してわずか0.2%だった。翌年、認定率は0.4%に上がったが、ドイツ・イギリス・カナダなどの先進国と比べても圧倒的に水準が低く、国外からは批判の的となった。日本政府は圧力を受けつつも難民政策の変更を示さないため、世界中で難民問題が拡大する限り、更なる圧力がかけられる見通しである。難民をめぐって他国では世論調査が行われているが、日本ではそうした基本情報収集がいまだ無い。欧米で実施されている難民に対する多数の調査・分析と比較した際、日本政府が持つデータは少ない。近年急速に増加する難民の申請数を考えると国民の感情や考えを測定することは必須の課題である。本研究は日本のある県立大学の学生を対象に調査を行い、「難民」に対しての意識と理解を量ろうとした。結果として、大多数の学生が難民の定義や存在をも認識出来ていなかったため、難民に共感することは難しいと感じた。更には、多くの学生が日本は先進国にもかかわらず、難民受入れに対して義務は無いと答えている。最後に、一部分の回答者が難民の実質的影響（労働力・人口減少対策）を指摘しているが、７割以上の学生が感情・道徳を理由とした回答に留まった。